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ABSTRACT

Three bilingual kindergarten classrooms were studied in depth in their school settings to see what conflicts arise between the expectations of the mainstream administrative structure of the school and the expectations of the bilingual curriculum of the district and how such conflicts are handled. Particular attention was given to potential conflict between the structures that Cummins (1986) recommended for bilingual education and more traditional school structures. Fundamental to the study were Cummins' elements in the organization of schooling that affect the extent to which minority students are empowered or disabled. These elements are: (1) the incorporation of minority students' culture and language; (2) the inclusion of minority communities in the education of their children; (3) use of a reciprocal interaction model of pedagogy rather than a transmission model; and (4) advocacy in assessment rather than delegitimation. Cummins' writings were reviewed to identify the specific observable behaviors that he recommends, and observations and intervews were conducted in classrooms and schools. Descriptive syntheses of observations and interviews conducted in the three schools are presented. Study findings indicate there are two widely divergent types of implementation of bilingual education in the schools. (RH)

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Implications of Meyer and Scott's Theory of Institutional Environments for the Implementation of Cummins' Framework for the Empowerment of Students in Bilingual Kindergartens

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School reforms occur in a complex and highly structured organizational setting. What obstacles does that structure present to the implementation of a widely accepted and formally adopted framework for reform that has been proposed by an educational elite? That is the question presented in this study of the implications of the institutional theory of organizational environments for the implementation of Cummins' framework for effective bilingual education in the context of Hispanic kindergarten programs in three different schools in a large urban school district.

The institutional theory of organizational environments has been developed through a series of papers (many collected in Meyer and Scott (1983)) in recent years that have presented a different way of looking at how schools and other organizations work. The theory arises out of a well developed consensus among many prominent theorists of organizations that you cannot understand what is going on within an organization without understanding what is going on outside of it. The external environment of an organization is the source of the organization's resources and the reasons for which it produces outcomes. Its participants developed their primary views of the world before they joined the organization and continue to receive its influence while they are participants. An organization can only maintain itself if it maintains legitimacy in its larger society. As society becomes more complex, those expectations might be harder to satisfy. Not only are there more of them, but they arise from different sources and are not necessarily consistent with each other. It is also possible that they are not consistent with the functional objectives that society has assigned to the organization, such as the responsibility of schools to educate children.

Institutional Theory

The two most prominent theorists of institutional environments are John Meyer and W. Richard Scott, so we will concentrate our attention on their ideas in presenting the essence of the institutional theory of organizational environments. Meyer and Scott argue that the environment of an organization has two dimensions: technical and institutional. The technical dimension is the

dimension of physical feasibility in the acquisition and utilization of people and things to accomplish the organization's objectives. It has dominated the work of theorists and researchers for years.

The institutional dimension is the normative dimension of social convention and beliefs about the nature of organizational structure such as beliefs about how a school is structured with such things as grade levels, curricula, evaluations, a principal, teachers, students and other staff. In a study of the structures of schools in the San Francisco Bay Area, Meyer et al (1983) were surprised to discover that there was relatively little variation in the social structure of schools whether the schools were large or small, public or private, traditional or alternative. They theorized that the expectations of society impose a structure on schools to which schools need to conform to be treated as legitimate. If a school conforms to these expectations then society will continue to support the school whether or not it can demonstrate that it is actually being effective in educating students.

These expectations are developed through a variety of social mechanisms, in particular 1) legal processes such as regulations of governmental agencies and decisions of courts and 2) the activities of professional elites, such as professors and other researchers and consultants. Legal processes and the activities of professional elites reinforce each other. Agencies with legal authority utilize endorsed, authorized and institutionalized authority both to mandate changes in the structure of the organization and to change social expectations of that structure. They look to professional elites to guide them in their decisions. The term elites is used here in its technical sense, not its pejorative one.

The establishment and definition of programs for bilingual education through legislation, regulation and judicial decision as well as formal education and scholarship is a good example of the operation of an institutional environment. Bilingual education is supported by statutory enactment and judicial action, relying on the expertise of educational elites. A good example of the influence of elites in an institutional environment is Cummins' framework of bilingual education. Cummins' synthesized the research of second-language acquisition into a highly regarded

normative theory of how bilingual education ought to be conducted. The theory has received wide support. It is taught by many schools of education as the model of bilingual education and has been formally adopted by many school districts. Institutional theorists would expect that these districts would intervene in schools that deviated too importantly from Cummins' framework unless the deviation was also legitimated by the external environment in some manner. Even districts that do not conform to Cummins' framework must substitute some approach equally legitimated by educational elites or face some kind of external intervention, for example parental appeals to the board or legal actions. On the other hand if the bilingual program alters conventional structures of the school expected by parents, faculty, accrediting agencies or other important constituencies then there might also be external intervention in the activities of the school.

Meyer and Scott note that the expectations are not necessarily consistent with each other or the efficiency of the organization and that the participants in organizations undertake informal measures to maintain at least the appearance of conformity and effectiveness in order to maintain public support for and their own commitment to the organization. Organizations also need to loosen the couplings between different parts of their organizations to permit those parts to be more tightly coupled to the external environment. For example, the administrative structure of a school needs to be tightly coupled to the administrative structure of the district and to social expectations about how a school should be organized, while the actual instruction in a bilingual classroom needs to be tightly coupled to the professionally accepted curriculum and instruction of bilingual education. The school only maintains its legitimacy as a school and the bilingual classroom only maintains its legitimacy as a bilingual classroom by meeting the social expectations of both schools and bilingual classrooms even if they are internally inconsistent with each other. If the school or the classroom does not maintain its legitimacy then it loses the support of one or more of the groups--such as parents, teachers, accrediting agencies, the district office--that are essential to the school's or classroom's ongoing operations.

The need to reassure different constituencies that the organization conforms to conflicting expectations makes Cummins' framework particularly interesting to study, because his framework

goes beyond the activities of the classroom to the school as a whole and also the larger community. Institutional theorists have particularly emphasized the importance of the loose coupling between the instructional activities of classrooms and the administrative activities of schools.

A dilemma is raised by the theory of institutional environments. On one hand social expectations need to be satisfied to maintain the organization even though they are often inconsistent with each other and might be inconsistent with the fundamental objective for which the organization was established--the actual learning and development of students. On the other hand, we want students actually to learn and develop.

The potential conflict between the structures that Cummins' recommends for bilingual education and more traditional structures institutionalized for schools as a whole provides an opportunity actually to study how an organization handles such conflict. We studied three bilingual kindergarten classrooms in their school setting in depth to see 1) what conflicts arise between the expectations of the mainstream administrative structure of the school and the expectations of the bilingual curriculum of the district and 2) how the conflicts are handled. For purposes of this study we define structure to be 1) generally accepted beliefs, i.e., normative structure, and 2) regular patterns of behavior, i.e., behavioral structure, consistent with Scott's (1987) definitions.

A review of the literature has not revealed a single study of the impact of a school's institutional environment on the implementation of a program of bilingual education or on instruction in an elementary school bilingual kindergarten classroom.

Cummins' Framework

James Cummins has done extensive research on teaching children in two languages. He (1979, 1986) and others (Baker & de Kanter, 1981) have found that the results of the evaluations of bilingual programs show either no relationship or a negative relationship between the amount of school exposure to the majority language and academic achievement in that language. Teaching in the minority language entails no loss in the development of academic skills in English. Language

minority students instructed through minority language for all or part of the school day perform as well in English academic skills as comparable students instructed totally through English. (Cummins, 1986).

Cummins has developed a theoretical framework whose central theme is the empowerment of the children. Cummins feels that minority students are either empowered or disabled by schools in the same manner that members of communities are either empowered or disabled by interactions with other social institutions; yet, they are made to feel socially responsible for their own success or failure. In his framework schools empower children through legitimating their native languages and cultures by bringing them into the classroom and the school and teaching them more completely to the students. It is this recognition of the importance of the external environment of the child for the legitimacy that makes Cummins' framework particularly interesting for our study of institutional environments.

Cummins says that there are "four elements in the organization of schooling that affect the extent to which minority students are empowered or disabled:"

1. "The incorporation of minority students' culture and language." Cummins believes that the culture and language of minority students, and this includes all language minority children, should be incorporated into the curriculum of the entire educational system. He asserts that the extent to which a student's language and culture are incorporated in to the school program "constitutes a significant predictor of academic success." He also believes that even if the minority language cannot be taught for any number of reasons, educators must communicate with parents and children in a way that shows the value of the minority language and culture in the school setting.

2. "The inclusion of minority communities in the education of their children." Members of minority communities should be represented in all facets of the educational process, i.e., Boards of Education, Parent Committees, Parent Teacher Associations. "When educators involve minority

parents as partners in their children's education, parents appear to develop a sense of efficacy that communicates itself to children, with positive academic consequences."

3. Use of a reciprocal interaction model of pedagogy rather than a transmission model. Cummins has described conventional teaching methods of the school system as a "transmission model." The Teacher initiates and controls the interaction of the students. The curricular focus of this model features language or literacy such as handwriting, spelling, decoding and recalling of content that is taught by highly structured drills and workbook exercises. The teacher's job is to impart this knowledge to a student implicitly assumed to know nothing. This disables the student. Instead Cummins recommends what he calls a "reciprocal interaction model," where teacher and student develop a genuine dialogue both orally and in writing. Teachers should provide guidance and facilitation rather than control. Higher level cognitive skills are developed rather than just factual recall, and students develop meaningful language into proper forms rather than "surface forms' without much meaning.

4. Advocacy in assessment rather than delegitimation. There is a strong research finding that psychologists are more likely to label a minority student as learning disabled whom a speech pathologist would label as language impaired (Samuda & Crawford, 1980; Mercer, 1983). A psychologist is trained to interpret the world in terms of psychological dysfunctions. Cummins recommends that professional evaluators consider the societal and educational context in which a child has developed in their assessments and avoid disabling minority language students with inappropriate labels that might interfere with their growth and development. The conventional training of psychologists and special educators has not prepared them for this role. In saying this Cummins does not question the motives of these educators. He believes that the institutionalized structure of schooling has defined roles for them that require them to disable minority language students.

Some Context

The kindergarten classes that we are studying have the very important responsibility of accomplishing all of the conventional goals of early childhood education while beginning the process of introducing the students to a second language in which they will undertake their formal education and work activity throughout their lives. Researchers in early childhood education have stressed the importance of these formative years in the school.

The accomplishment of this objective through bilingual education has been mandated in New York City by the Aspira Consent Decree of a U.S. District Court. That decree mandated specific structural features of bilingual education in New York: 1) Spanish speaking or Spanish surnamed children must be identified and where appropriate classified as Limited English Proficient (LEP) within one week of enrolling in school; 2) All children classified as limited English Proficient are entitled to participate in a planned and systematic program to develop the child's ability to speak, understand, read and write the English language; 3) Subject matter courses must be taught in a language which permits the child's effective participation; 4) A planned and systematic program must be implemented to develop the child's ability to use Spanish; 5) Children will spend maximum time with other children to avoid isolation from their peers. 6) The full program shall be available in each community school district; 7) Appropriate and necessary personnel are to be made available to the program; 8) Materials used in the program shall avoid negative stereotypes of members of any ethnic or racial group and shall positively reflect where appropriate the culture of the children within the program. 9) Any personnel training program shall continue to be sensitive to the cultural diversities of children; 10) Staff in the program must be fluent in writing and speaking in both Spanish and English and possess the requisite knowledge and skill to teach the substantive courses; and 11) The Board must establish programs of training and licensure. These requirements have been extended to the native languages of all language minorities in the city. The effectiveness of bilingual education programs has become particularly

important in New York City where ten percent, or almost 100,000, of the students in 1989 were labeled Limited English Proficient (LEP).

The Board of Education has also mandated specific structures for kindergarten classes. In particular, no more than twenty-five students should be assigned to any one class. It is conventional among schools in this area to maintain similar class sizes across the classes in a particular grade. The office that oversees bilingual education for our three sites consistently discourages code switching in kindergarten classrooms to facilitate the acclimation of limited English speakers.

Methodology

The methodological approach involves classroom and school observations and interviews. The observations are being undertaken in search of conflicts and potential conflicts between the implementation of Cummins' recommendations and conventional structures of the school. Cummins' writings were reviewed to identify the specific observable behaviors that he recommends. The results of the observations are then being reviewed to provide a basis for the interviews. The purpose of the interviews is to identify the participants' beliefs about the sources of the observed conflicts. Interviews are being conducted with the teachers and other support personnel, the administrators in the building, and a random sample of parents. An initial round of observations has been completed, and interviews have already been conducted with the principal and the bilingual teacher whose kindergarten class was observed in each school.

The framework for the methodology is derived from Miles and Huberman's (1984) three concurrent flows of activity--data reduction, data display, and the drawing and verification of conclusions--and Guba and Lincoln's (1985) form for a naturalistic study. Directly after each session, all observational data is being recorded using Cummins' framework as a guide. The interviews are being taped, and a careful word by word transcription made to prepare them for analysis. Patterns and themes are being coded to relate the data to the problem

Guba and Lincoln (1985) say that the objectives of validity and reliability in quantitative study are met by credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability in qualitative study. The credibility of the present study is being met through prolonged engagement. The observer has been involved with the schools in question for five years. Its confirmability is being sought through the triangulation of notes of observations and transcripts of interviews, and in particular through discussing the observations with members of the special education teams and other knowledgeable participants. Transferability is not sought directly in qualitative study (Guba and Lincoln, 1985), but through the presentation of sufficient relevant detail about the sites and the observed behaviors to enable other people to determine if the findings are transferable to their contexts.

Additionally, the design uses Denzin's (1978) recommendation of theory triangulation. The theoretical frameworks of Meyer and Scott (1983) and Cummins (1983) guide the collection, analysis and interpretation of data.

Descriptive Synthesis of Observations and Interviews

School A

Three miles by bus takes kindergarten students from their neighborhood school to the Intermediate School where the kindergarten classes meet. The neighborhood school is too small to accommodate the kindergartens. A roster inside the door of the neighborhood school lists all of the classes in the building. Below the monolingual classrooms are listed the bilingual ones. The intermediate school building is large and kindergarten students need to walk a long hallway extending from the front to the back of the building past the teacher's cafeteria, the student's cafeteria and the gymnasium to two swinging doors leading to a small hallway behind the student's cafeteria where they enter their classrooms.

Directly outside the classrooms are a lunch table and two benches. A bulletin board is labeled "ESL Activities" with papers filled with children's ABC's and a sign, "We Review Our Letters." "Cover that Sneeze," "Soaring High in March" (about kites), and "At the End of the

Rainbow is a Pot of Gold" (St. Patrick's Day), are three other displays on doors in the hallway. There are no multicultural displays in the building; although once flamenco dancers, storytellers and a nutritionist came as part of a special program of the district's bilingual office. Outside of the bilingual classroom, Spanish does not appear. Even the Hispanic students speak English or generally remain silent except perhaps among themselves outside of their classroom. The kindergarten liaison, representing the neighborhood principal in this distant site, speaks only English and confides, "I'm not sure I believe in teaching in another language." Her office is far away from the classrooms, down a long corridor and through swinging doors.

A greeting of "Bienvenidos" and a picture of a snowman welcome bilingual kindergarten students and visitors at the door of their classroom. Every sign in the room declares its message in two languages; the Spanish reassures the students that their language is accepted here. Multicultural puppets decorate the room adding assurance. But the decorations for "mainstream" holidays, Martin Luther King's Day and St. Patrick's Day, seem a little incongruous as is the juxtaposition of worlds that the students face.

In the room, chairs have been placed on opposite sides of a line of three tables to permit students to interact with each other. For special times they gather near the front of the room. The teacher's desk is in front of the room with one student's chair nearby. The teacher said that that student wants to sit by himself. The children sit wherever they want and she only changes seats when disciplining. Around the room the teacher has organized learning centers with blocks, legos, clay, activities in mathematics, activities to develop listening skills, housekeeping toys, and other materials. The children are working and playing together. They frequently help each other in class with coloring or writing and freely share paste and crayons. They switch between Spanish and English while they work. During naptime several have trouble sleeping and begin tattling on each other in English. A small classroom library contains books in English and Spanish. Very few children choose books in Spanish.

The teacher was a bilingual student herself, so she empathizes with her students. A bilingual paraprofessional assists her. She takes children to the bathroom, helps feed them at

lunchtime, and mark's their homework. Both she and the teacher appear to follow Cummins' guidelines of treating the children with respect, avoiding their embarrassment, and permitting them to speak either Spanish or English without correcting their mistakes. In one instance the teacher noticed that a student had a new pair of glasses and commented on how good the student looks with them. The child grinned broadly.

Three (3) of the twenty-six (26) children in the class do not speak Spanish. Eight (8) others are English dominant according to the Language Assessment Battery (LAB). The school assigns children to the classroom largely because of their Hispanic surnames, administratively the most convenient method consistent with the Aspira Consent Decree. This also helps keep the bilingual class about the same size as the other kindergarten classes, consistent with social expectations of class sizes. A parent must request the child's removal to a monolingual class. Nevertheless, the principal maintains that the school tries its best to put only bilingual children in the classroom. The bilingual teacher disagreed, "If there is no room in the other kindergartens, they put them in the bilingual."

The teacher frequently needs to code-switch and by the middle of the year speaks primarily in English. One child refuses to speak any English. The teacher says he is very bright and his determination not to speak English would have resulted in a damaging label for him if he did not have the bilingual program. The children are very aware of who does not speak Spanish and switch immediately to English when necessary. Most of the time in class they speak a mixture of Spanish and English.

When the bilingual class went to the bathroom at the same time as a monolingual class, the children did not interact with each other. They seemed to ignore each other completely. The four kindergarten classes hold gym together, but interaction is kept to a minimum. No problems arose between them to explain the separation. It appeared to be a matter of convenience.

The monolingual cluster teachers do not use multicultural materials. They usually read stories about animals published for American readers. The children appear comfortable with them. The teachers permit the children to speak Spanish among themselves.

The district and school reach out to the parents of the bilingual students, but do not educate monolingual parents, students or even teachers to the program and the research findings that support it. All notices are sent in Spanish to Hispanic parents and in English to the others. The vice-president of the parent-teacher association (PTA) is Hispanic and provides translation at meetings. The district bilingual office sponsored a meeting about bilingual education for all parents, but notices were not sent to the parents of the kindergarten students because they were in another building. The district mandates that report cards be in English only. Few notices are sent in Spanish unless the bilingual teachers make a special effort to translate them. An announcement of the "graduation" from kindergarten was sent in Spanish to Spanish-speaking parents and in English to the others.

The English speaking parents rarely receive anything in both Spanish and English. Nothing is done to make them aware of the bilingual program or the effectiveness of such programs in developing children's academic ability, including English language skills. The district offers seminars about bilingual education to the parents of students in the program, but the teacher says that the parents are "difficult to get to, so even though they are aware that they are going on not many of the parents go to them. Usually [the programs] are in another school."

Nothing is done for the monolingual teachers either. In an interview the principal reported that the monolingual teachers resent the bilingual class. They say it is because of the smaller sizes of the class and the more manageable nature of the students, but the principal says it has as much to do with the personalities of the teachers.

Like his liaison in the intermediate school building, the principal is not sure that he supports the concept of bilingual education. a principal for ten (10) years, he took Spanish in high school and can speak and understand a little, but has never had a course or other training in bilingual education. "I don't know if I'm 100% in favor of [bilingual education], I think that part of the program should be to make the children so proficient in English that they are able to go into the mainstream. I know that's not really the approved way that the bilingual program works, but that's my feeling on it." He adds, "I'm 100% in favor of English as a Second Language...I would

rather see more emphasis placed on ESL and more total immersion in English. I feel that sometimes children are held back from learning English, if they have that need, when they are in a bilingual class." When asked what he meant about being held back, he said, "...they still speak Spanish. We're not forcing them or encouraging them and requiring them to speak English."

Throughout the schools visited, monolingual teachers and principals and even some bilingual teachers, implicitly made an analogy between bilingual education and special education by contrasting them with "the mainstream." The bilingual teacher in this school says that she feels pressure "to push in as much English as we can...because [the students] are going to be mainstreamed." She seems to use this phrase without fully recognizing its implications, because she feels strongly about developing the full ability of the students in their own language, "The children don't know what they want because they don't know who they are. I see that a lot in my own neighborhood. I was a bilingual student myself so I know. I had culture and language kept at home not in school. I thing it is important for the school [to educate the students] so that the children know they are Americans, Hispanic Americans, and they are proud of their food and customs, and that they know their language well enough so that they can even use it as professionals." Later she adds,"...criticism of other people will make this difficult." When asked what she means, she replies, "Well, not everybody believes in the philosophy of bilingual education so those people who don't believe in it make it harder..."

She concludes, "...it is such a nice feeling, it is great, having a bilingual mind. You can think in two languages. You see the world in two different ways. You can communicate with different kinds of people and you can have more than one culture...There are words in Spanish that there are no translations for and it's such a wonderful feeling that you know it. I know this will be great for the country's economy. It shouldn't only be Spanish bilingual but everyone's bilingual class."

School B

A neighborhood of single family dwellings surrounds this five story building. Many of the houses have signs that reflect the increase in commercial activity in the neighborhood in recent years. The residents come predominantly from Hispanic backgrounds. Many were born in Nicaragua, Columbia, the Dominican Republic and Venezuela. Sixty (60) percent of the fourteen hundred (1400) students in the elementary school are Hispanic. Thirty (30) percent are black, including many Haitian Creole children. Another ten (10) percent come from families that have arrived from India, Pakistan and other parts of Asia.

In front of the large sweeping staircase in the entry to the school, a security guard checks visitors about to enter. At the top of the stairs, a large mural declares, "All Children Can Learn." A painting of children from many different countries illustrates the mural's message. Bilingual signs in Spanish and English throughout the building underscore at least biculturally this multicultural message.

The 1400 students swell the school's six grades. A converted boy's bathroom now provides an ESL classroom. The basement now provides the music room for the orchestra and a gymnasium for the kindergarten and first and second grades. There are five ESL teachers, two bilingual classes from kindergarten through third grade and one bilingual class in each of the other grades. One bilingual class in each grade participates in a state-funded two way bilingual program. One period each day a bilingual teacher teaches the monolingual class Spanish while the monolingual teacher teaches the bilingual class Social Studies. A Spanish as a Second Language teacher and a Gifted and Talented teacher work with both classes, taking small groups of students several times a week.

The principal, a bilingual Hispanic woman, has supported the school's efforts to create at least a bilingual cultural atmosphere. She is the only Hispanic principal in the district, perhaps in the borough. Two monolingual assistant principals assist her in overseeing the school's six grades. One supervises the lower and the other the upper grades, except that the principal takes

direct responsibility for kindergarten and first grade. In addition to mounting signs in both Spanish and English, the principal has organized multicultural events, such as Pan American Day where children sing and dance in the traditions of their various Latin American cultures. Only the celebration of Chinese New Year shows any recognition of cultures other than American and Hispanic, raising questions about the school's sensitivity to its own ethnic minorities.

The two bilingual kindergarten classrooms sit several doors apart and across the hallway from their monolingual counterparts. The bilingual classroom being observed is in a large room. It does not have the internal bathroom common to many kindergarten classrooms. Like the school itself the room contains signs in both Spanish and English. The children's desks form a U-shape around the center of the room, so that the children face each other. Various learning centers invite the children to the room's perimeter. A large area in the back remains open for activities of small groups with the teacher. The teacher and paraprofessional assign the twenty-seven (27) children to the centers. All of them have been identified as Limited English Proficient (LEP) through the Language Assessment Battery (LAB) test that the ESL teacher administers. The classroom library contains materials in both Spanish and English and the teacher plays soft Latin music during snack time. No other materials visible or audible in the classroom provide multicultural awareness.

After teaching in Puerto Rico for fifteen (15) years, the teacher has taught in the United States for eight years (8). She earned her bachelor's degree in early childhood education and a master's degree in bilingual education. She teaches all of the subject matter courses in Spanish, as Cummins suggests, except the computer, which she teaches in English. The students follow her example and speak the language that she speaks, but when they play by themselves they mix languages. A fulltime Hispanic bilingual paraprofessional assists her. She is not very fluent in English, but is a parent in the school with a reputation for warmth and effectiveness with the children. The teacher and paraprofessional frequently speak to each other in class, telling each other how good the students are and how smart they are.

The teacher's biggest concern about the program is that the school itself demands too much from teachers, "We have to cover this workbook and that workbook and we are not given enough

opportunity to work with the children the way that we think it should be given...I believe my bilingual program should be more Spanish than English. Usually the administration gives priority to English. The teachers should be given a say in the curriculum, what type of curriculum works with the children. We should let the teachers choose the books the children need. The books and the work that we should do with the children. We should have the say."

When asked about the monolingual teachers, she responds, "...there is a lot of difficulty especially in our school because the monolingual teachers are always saying, 'Oh, I don't know why you should [teach in Spanish]. Look at the way we were taught. We were taught to learn English language from the beginning. Even our fathers when they came to this country, ...they had to learn to speak English first.' We are constantly under attack. They are very ignorant of the fact that having the Spanish language or the maternal language is very important [in the students'] learning." The principal says that parents sometimes need to be persuaded to permit their children to participate in bilingual education. They do not understand its value.

The monolingual cluster teachers do not express support for the bilingual program and seem impatient in teaching these students. A mathematics lesson ends with the students' whispering to each other in Spanish while the frustrated teacher says to a visitor, "This is really a wonderful lesson. You should see it in a different class." When monolingual teachers enter the room, the children speak to each other almost entirely in Spanish.

A computer teacher shows open disdain for the bilingual students, "These children can't do what the other classes can do." He explains a computer game in English to the children and seems surprised that some of the students do not begin to play immediately after he concludes the instructions. One youngster sits at the computer for five minutes appearing not to know what to do. The teacher shows him which key to press and walks away without looking at the monitor. The child tries it and nothing happens. After a visiting adult bring this to the teacher's attention, he moves the child to another computer where the child plays the game without trouble. A girl finishes early and asks to try another game on the disk. The teacher refuses because he does not think her capable of it. At the end of the class, he admits that the class did very well today and

congratulates them, "You did okay today. You were very good today." In conversation with the visitor, he adds, "Bilingual programs have been in existence for twenty years and they have the highest drop-out rates."

The bilingual and monolingual children interact with each other in assemblies in the auditorium and in the cafeteria at lunchtime. They converse with each other in English. There is no evidence of problems arising between them.

The parent-teacher association provides translation in Spanish, but not other languages. The PTA president is Hispanic and sensitive to the needs of Hispanic parents. School notices, except trip notices, and a monthly school newspaper are printed in Spanish and English, back to back, but not into other languages. The district does not permit the school to translate report cards from English. The state funds special workshops for parents as part of the two-way bilingual program. The topics are picked by members of the Hispanic community and the District Bilingual Office and taught in Spanish. A few monolingual parents attend as well. Parents are encouraged to participate in the classrooms and to obtain books from their native countries to read to their children.

The teacher of the bilingual kindergarten class expresses concern about the community's lack of understanding of the program, "I think that the community should be educated. They have not been educated about the importance of having a bilingual program for children...before learning the English language or learning the English language at the same time that they are learning the other areas from the curriculum. Most parents...forget their first language...which is very bad. It is better to have two languages than just one and perfect both languages at the same time."

School C

Single family dwellings surround the large four story school building. A large group of welfare apartments sits nearby. Fifty (50) percent of the eleven hundred seventy (1170) students in the school are black, twenty-eight (28) percent are Hispanic and the rest, "a babbling brook of

everything," as the principal says. Students speak eighteen (18) different languages. The children come and go with little stability. Four hundred eighty-five (485) of the present students did not attend last year.

The security guard smiles and asks for identification when an outsider enters the building. A large sign over her station also welcomes visitors to the school and gives a list of its various programs, Special Education, English as a Second Language, Reading, Mathematics and others. In the main office is a roster that lists three bilingual classes--kindergarten and first and second grades--right below the monolingual ones. Two ESL classes are also listed. The teachers in the ESL classes service the students in the bilingual classroom as well as some students diagnosed as Limited English Proficient (LEP) who are in what the principal calls "mainstream" classes.

Bulletin boards reflect the work of the various classes. An ESL board displays work in English. No multicultural displays are found in the hallways or entry-ways. Only occasionally is a language used in any way in the hallways other than English. Children celebrate the conventional holidays of the city. For Mother's Day they made handprints and cards written in their native languages. In assemblies the children sit with their own classes, but the bilingual and monolingual classes are intermingled.

The first year principal speaks a little German, but none of the languages of the bilingual students in his school. He says that he had an introduction to bilingual education in a course once, but has forgotten the course's name. Two monolingual assistant principals assist him in oversight of the teachers. One supervises kindergarten through second grade and the other, third through fifth grade. The bilingual kindergarten teacher says that the principal and her supervising assistant principal are very supportive of her program. When asked about the importance of bilingual education in his school, the principal replies, "I don't know if it's as important as it's made out to be. It's certainly necessary for me to have--if I have a large Spanish speaking or Haitian speaking [population]--it's certainly necessary for me to have at least one or two staff members who speak that language...It does make the transition easier for these kids...At least they're not lost the first couple of weeks, especially if they've never spoken English." He adds later, "It's really a gobbly-

gook of things and languages. In fact the other day we had to figure out where a kid came from. We had to get an almanac to locate the island." He says he most needs someone to help the parents in parenting in their own languages.

The principal does not see a problem in discontinuing bilingual education after second grade, "They're in regular classes. It doesn't seem to be a problem. The problem is in the middle of second grade we can phase it out for most of the kids. I have a lot of kids upstairs [in the higher grades] who don't speak any English at all and they don't necessarily speak Spanish either...when I taught here in the sixties, we had kids who didn't speak English. It's the same thing, the only difference now is we don't keep them as long. Before, once they moved in you kept them for the time they were in school. Now they come and go. It makes it a little harder on the kids...most of them go successfully into English-speaking class fulltime, so on that basis I would have to say [the program] is fairly successful...they fit in with our basic group. They are not in our upper group or the lower group per se, they just get scattered in, an average kid."

He sees incorporating the students' cultures into the curriculum as a problem, "The city gives us "X" amount of things to do and with the cultures in this building we would actually put an end to the curriculum. We would not make a dent in what we are supposed to do each year...Everyone wants to add something. No one ever takes anything away. If you talk to me about kids who are starting with a slight disadvantage already in that they are new to the country, often there is language, English, is new to them and some of them have never been in school."

The principal and monolingual teachers are not the only ones that refer disparagingly about the students' lack of ability to speak English. When, the bilingual kindergarten teacher is asked about how students are placed in the bilingual program, she says, "They are placed in the [program] because they have a language deficiency, not a deficiency, a difficulty." It is not clear whether she really believes it is a difficulty, which is inconsistent with Cummins' teachings, or her choice of words merely reflects the language and attitude of the monolingual environment in which she teaches and lives.

Brilliant red, yellow and orange papers decorate the bilingual classroom. The bulletin boards around the room are in both English and Spanish, contrasting with the English only boards outside. A large bulletin board in the front states, "Hispanic Heritage." It portrays Spanish heroes. The children sit facing each other at tables that form three sections in the room: seven at one table, eight at another, and nine at a third. The teacher's desk is at the front of the room, but she rarely works there. Instead, she uses a table nearer the children. Learning centers are placed around the room. The children's names appear on cards on a bulletin board under the names of the learning centers. The cards are rotated every day to direct the children in order through all of the centers. None of the instructional materials reflects Hispanic cultures.

Twenty-one (21) of the twenty-four (24) children in the class have been labeled Limited English Proficient (LEP) as a result of the LAB test. One of the others is in the class at the request of his parents. The other two are probably there because they have Spanish surnames and their parents did not opt them out of the class. Contrary to Cummins' recommendation, the teacher presents most subjects in English. She uses Spanish, but switches if a child uses English and usually does not switch back. She has taught eight (8) years and was a paraprofessional for five (5) years before that. Her bachelors' degree in early childhood education, master's degree in bilingual education and studies toward a certificate as a guidance counselor have provided her with appropriate credentials for her position. In addition to Spanish, she speaks some Italian and knows some American Sign Language.

One of the students in her class is seven and should be in second grade. He recently moved to the United States from a rural area in Central America. He had no previous schooling. He started school in a bilingual first grade class, but did not behave properly. As Cummins suggests, the school decided that he was not the problem, but the lack of socialization in schooling was the problem. He is quickly learning in kindergarten.

Monolingual teachers often substitute for bilingual teachers, because bilingual substitutes are hard to find. During one week the bilingual teacher is absent several days. A cluster teacher complains to the paraprofessional about the children's behavior that week and is told that they have

been behaving differently since the bilingual teacher has been absent. The monolingual substitute is frustrated at the childrens' unresponsiveness.

All of the regular teachers, monolingual, bilingual and ESL, appear to have rapport with the students; nevertheless, misunderstandings arise. A boy bumps an aide in the hallway. The boy stops and looks at the aide, but says nothing. The aide yells, "Why don't you say I'm sorry." The child does not answer until his bilingual teacher explains in Spanish and asks him to say, "I'm sorry." Then he tells the aide, "I'm sorry." None of the cluster teachers speaks Spanish.

The principal acknowledges that the parents of bilingual students do not receive much support in Spanish, "They have all the services the school has but unfortunately I don't have a Spanish speaking guidance counselor or social worker...They don't get anything extra. Actually it's almost less because I don't have--they need to bring a translator or else I have to pull someone from-- a para out of a room to translate for me which we do on a regular basis." No one translates for PTA meetings anymore. Only twenty parents attend and about four of them are Hispanic. The Hispanic parents sit in a group and one translates for the others. The school sends trip slips and report cards home in English only. The principal says that notes are sent home in English and Spanish but not in any of the other sixteen languages. The bilingual teacher disagrees. She says that the only notes that go home in Spanish are the ones deemed very important that she translates. There is no effort to explain the bilingual program to the parents of the English speaking students.

The bilingual teacher expresses concern about the future of the program in the district, "Since the district coordinator left, we don't have any more monthly meetings that we used to have...I think they are trying to go into an all English program and try to get rid of bilingual." A neighboring school recently avoided a proposed bilingual program by not having enough parents approve the program for their children. The bilingual personnel in the district share rumors with each other that the principal achieved this by scaring the parents away from the program because of its non-traditional nature. Many parents are apprehensive about it anyway. They know that their children need to learn English. The teacher is also concerned that the bilingual program in the school ends with second grade, "...we have a lot of bilingual children coming in and if [they] don't

get any service it will be bad." She also feels pressured to prepare the children in English more quickly. She says that she does not feel pressure from her supervisors, but from the absence of a bilingual program after the second grade.

Results

The three schools are in non-traditional neighborhoods and yet look very much like each other and other schools in the city, not necessarily in their physical appearance, but in their organization. Each has a principal, grade levels, classrooms, cafeterias and programs that are very similar to each other.

Each school operates in a cultural environment that mistrusts bilingual education, not only the monolingual educators but Spanish-speaking and other non-English speaking parents share this culture. Even the bilingual principle of School B reports that she has to persuade parents to participate in the program.

Against the currents of these first two influences, laws have been established and enforced through litigation that mandate a bilingual program that extends to the entire school. This mandate has been operationalized in the district of our study through the establishment of a district office for bilingual education and its adoption of a program legitimated by the research and writing of Cummins. Properly credentialed teachers have been hired to implement that program within each school. All three of the teachers whose classrooms we are examining have those credentials as well as credentials in early childhood education.

We see in these three programs an interesting division into two types. Schools A and C represent the first type. In this type of school, only the bilingual teacher has been socialized into understanding and accepting the framework of Cummins. The bilingual program does not extend beyond the boundaries of classroom and even within the classroom it is modified toward the model of English as a Second Language; the teachers do not develop as fully the students' ability in Spanish and identity with Hispanic cultures, and they move the students much more quickly

toward English as a primary language. The students themselves use more English, even among themselves in class than the students in the second type of school.

In the second type of school, the principal is also bilingual and the neighborhood from which the students come is predominantly Hispanic. In this school the bilingual program extends to the school as a whole, despite parental concerns; except in the classrooms of teachers, even cluster teachers, who have not been socialized into accepting its legitimacy. Not only does the school reinforce the bilingual program, but the teacher implements it more fully in the classroom through additional materials and the students use Spanish much more consistently.

Conclusions

Several conclusions and research implications result from our preliminary findings. First, Cummins' recognition that bilingual programs need to go beyond the classroom to be effective appears well founded. Apparently principals, cluster teachers, and even other teachers, students and parents need to be socialized and continually re-socialized to establish and maintain the full effectiveness of bilingual programs against the influence of the predominant cultural norm opposing bilingual education.

Second, loose-coupling theorists are largely supported in their belief that schools are organized to permit the activities of teachers in their classrooms to be more tightly linked to the educational subculture of their instructional programs, but with an important limitation. The normative structure of the external environment of the classrooms affects the fullness of the teacher's implementation of the programs and even the manner in which the teachers refer to the programs. The teachers in Schools A and C moved their instructional programs toward an ESL model. Their students were not provided a full opportunity to develop their Spanish language and culture. Furthermore, the teachers' references to bilingual education were influenced by the norms of the environment away from the norms of bilingual education. For example, one of the teachers speaks of her student's ability to speak Spanish rather than English as a "difficulty" and all of the

teachers use the dominant culture's term "mainstream" which implicitly identifies bilingual education with special education.

Third, these findings suggest that the more fully a school socializes its significant participants into the norms of bilingual education, the more fully the program will be implemented in the school. We use the term significant participants to acknowledge the differential importance of participants in influencing the implementation of the program. The principal, cluster teachers and parents of prospective bilingual students are certainly significant participants, but other students, parents, teachers and administrators probably are too. The school needs to concern itself with influences external to a bilingual classroom to implement fully a program within the classroom.

The small size of our sample has permitted us to examine our schools in depth, but it needs to be followed by a larger, perhaps quantitative study, to determine how well our findings generalize to a larger population of schools. The larger study could test hypotheses about the relationship between the fullness of implementation of a bilingual program and the degree of socialization into bilingual education of a school's significant participants, i.e., superintendents, principals, parents of bilingual students, monolingual cluster teachers, and also other parents, teachers and students.

Fourth, we have not studied the effectiveness of the program in achieving its objectives, just the extent and manner in which the external environment interferes with the implementation of the program. Our research suggests that a doctoral student or other researcher could make a valuable contribution to the literature by studying how the differing beliefs of potentially significant participants affects the actual effectiveness of bilingual programs in inculcating in students knowledge and appreciation of their languages and cultures.

In conclusion, it appears that to implement fully an educational reform contrary to a widely accepted norm of a school, society needs more than to 1) loosely couple classrooms to the school and 2) tightly couple the classroom to an educational elite; society also needs to socialize the principal and perhaps other significant participants into acceptance of the contrary norm. This

conclusion has important implications for the certification of administrators and teachers and for the orientation and re-orientation of students and parents, including monolingual ones. Cummins' framework will not empower students unless schools alter the normative structures of more than the bilingual classrooms.

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